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ABSTRACT

This report describes the extent of black-white classroom segregation in desegregated elementary, middle, and high schools; compares the degree of segregation for blacks, whites, and Hispanics; compares the degree of resegregation in major regions of the nation, and investigates the relationship between the degree of school desegregation and patterns of classroom resegregation. Using National Longitudinal Survey data, the survey examines academic course areas and extracurricular memberships to determine the degree of white-minority interaction. Findings show that black and white students are almost equally likely to be enrolled in most courses in desegregated schools, but resegregation occurs through tracking or ability grouping procedures which significantly reduce the opportunities for cross-racial contact. For extracurricular activities in desegregated schools, it was determined that blacks participate more in athletics, music, and drama, but whites participate more in academic honorary clubs. Fairly equal participation was found in student government and academic subject clubs. (Author/JCD)

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THE EXTENT OF CLASSROOM SEGREGATION WITHIN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

P. R. Morgan and James M. McPartland

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Introductory Statement

The Center for Social Organization of Schools has two primary objectives: to develop a scientific knowledge of how schools affect their students, and to use this knowledge to develop better school practices and organization.

The Center works through five programs to achieve its objectives. The Studies in School Desegregation program applies the basic theories of social organization of schools to study the internal conditions of desegregated schools, the feasibility of alternative desegregation policies, and the interrelations of school desegregation with other equity issues such as housing and job desegregation. The School Organization program is currently concerned with authority-control structures, task structures, reward systems, and peer group processes in schools. It has produced a large-scale study of the effects of open schools, has developed Student Team Learning instructional processes for teaching various subjects in elementary and secondary schools, and has produced a computerized system for school-wide attendance monitoring. The School Process and Career Development program is studying transitions from high school to post-secondary institutions and the role of schooling in the development of career plans and the actualization of labor market outcomes. The Studies in Delinquency and School Environments program is examining the interaction of school environments, school experiences, and individual characteristics in relation to in-school and later-life delinquency.

The Center also supports a Fellowships in Education Research program that provides opportunities for talented young researchers to conduct and publish significant research, and to encourage the participation of women and minorities in research on education.

This report, prepared by the Studies in School Desegregation program, examines the extent of resegregation in desegregated school classrooms, course enrollments, and extracurricular activities.

Abstract

As schools desegregate under voluntary plans, under court orders, and under naturally occurring demographic changes, the assumption is made that desegregated schools will provide an environment in which white and minority students interact both inside and outside of classrooms, and this interaction will provide mutual benefits for both whites and minorities.

These reports examine this assumption about student interaction. Morgan and McPartland, using OCR data covering over 43,000 schools, describe the extent of black-white classroom segregation in desegregated elementary, junior and middle, and high schools; compare the degree of segregation for blacks, whites, and Hispanics; compare the degree of resegregation in major regions of the nation, and investigate the relationship between the degree of school desegregation and patterns of classroom resegregation.

They find that school segregation is still the main reason for segregated education in the nation, but segregated classes in desegregated schools do add to racial isolation and imbalance, especially in high schools. Also, in areas where school desegregation has progressed most--in the South and at the high school level--classroom resegregation occurs more often, indicating that resegregation will be more of a major problem as school desegregation increases. Thus school desegregation still remains as today's problem; but classroom resegregation looms as tomorrow's problem.

Trent and McPartland, using National Longitudinal Survey data, examine two areas of the high school that provide opportunities for white-minority interaction--major academic course areas and extracurricular memberships--

to determine the patterns of interaction that exist. They find that black and white students are almost equally likely to be enrolled in most courses in desegregated schools, but resegregation occurs through tracking or ability grouping procedures which significantly reduce the opportunities for cross-racial contact. For extracurricular activities in desegregated schools, they find higher participation rates by blacks in athletics, music, and drama; higher participation rates by whites in academic honorary clubs; but fairly equal participation in student government and academic subject clubs.

Introduction

School desegregation as a public policy has "second generation" problems that were not anticipated or clear following the Supreme Court decision twenty-five years ago. Perhaps the major example is "resegregation": the deterioration of opportunities for positive cross-racial student contact following the installation of desegregated school enrollment plans. Resegregation occurs mainly when (1) white students move from neighborhoods and districts having desegregated schools (the "white flight" issue), and (2) the internal processes of individual schools locate black and white students in different classrooms, activities and social groups.

"White flight" has been subjected to serious research analysis to identify the demographic and social forces at work (e.g., Coleman et al., 1977; Pettigrew and Green, 1976; Rosell, 1979; Clotfelder, 1974; Farley, 1975). But there has been little study of resegregation within schools (McPartland, 1969; Schofield, 1977, 1978; Rist, 1979), and none using recent large representative samples. Recently, national data have become available that can be used to examine the racial and ethnic composition of classrooms within desegregated schools. These data, collected in 1976 by DHEW Office of Civil Rights, are used in this paper to (1) describe the extent of classroom segregation of blacks and whites in desegregated schools at the elementary, middle or junior high, and high school levels; (2) compare the degree of classroom separation of different white, black, and Hispanic student combinations; (3) compare major regions of the nation on the degree of classroom resegregation, and (4) investigate the relationship between school racial enrollments and the pattern of classroom segregation.

Data and Methods

During several years since 1968, the Office of Civil Rights (DHEW) has surveyed public school districts on the racial and ethnic enrollments of their schools. In 1976, for the first time, the OCR survey collected data from individual schools on the racial and ethnic enrollments of classrooms. In this survey, 3617 districts were directed to submit school level data for 43,738 separate school buildings. Even though the districts were selected for submission of school level data for demographic and policy reasons (DHEW Office of Civil Rights, 1978)[1], the resulting sample essentially includes all but the smaller public school districts in the nation that enroll significant numbers of white and minority students.

The survey instrument to collect classroom racial/ethnic enrollments was designed to obtain a representative sample of classes across the school's program. Detailed directions were provided for drawing a random sample of 18 classroom teachers in each school and for obtaining the classroom enrollment data from these teachers at three points in the school day (early in the day, midday, and later in the day). Thus data from 18 representative classes were obtained from each sampled school (Office of Civil Rights, 1978).

Two methods will be used to summarize the data to describe the extent of classroom segregation within desegregated schools. First, a classroom Segregation Index will be calculated for different subgroups of sampled schools. This Index will permit direct comparisons of the relative degree

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[1] Besides using a statistical probability design to select districts, many districts were chosen with certainty because of the special desegregation interest, including a court order, a voluntary plan, pending litigation, OCR high interest and/or applied for ESAA funds.

of classroom segregation between different school levels, regions, and school racial enrollment categories. Because the same index has been used in published reports to describe school segregation within districts, it will also be possible to make some comparisons of the degree of school vs. classroom segregation for different types and locations of education. Second, frequency distributions will be tabulated for classrooms across racial composition categories for different school racial enrollment percentages. These tabulations will provide details of classroom resegregation that are not captured by the averages summarized by the Classroom Segregation Index.

The Classroom Segregation Index

Studies of the properties of alternative indices to measure racial separation in school assignments, housing residences, or other spatial location and categorical variables have shown that one index has the properties needed for comparative research (Becker, 1978). These properties include independence of population racial proportions and size of locational units, straightforward interpretation in terms of policy and statistical terminology, and clear ways of decomposing the index into additive elements when several variables are involved in the analytic investigations. In spite of some inertia in disseminating this index for use in place of earlier alternatives that lack the essential properties, the selected index is becoming the major standard for comparative research to describe segregation in elementary-secondary schools (Coleman et al., 1975; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1979); in higher education (Thomas et al., 1980; McPartland, 1979); in housing residences (Schnare, 1977); in employment (Braddock et al., 1980 ; U.S. Department of Labor, 1978), and in places of work (Becker, 1980).

The Classroom Segregation Index is calculated by the formula:

$$S = \frac{\text{(Percent white in the School)} - \text{(Percent white in the classroom of the average black student)}}{\text{(Percent white in the School)}}$$

$$\text{where percent white in the school} = \frac{\text{Number of White students in the school}}{\text{Total number of students in the school}}$$

$$\text{and} \quad \text{(Percent white in the classroom of the average black student)} = \frac{\sum_i \text{Number of blacks in classroom } i \times \text{Percent white in classroom } i}{\text{(Total number of blacks in all classrooms)}}$$

A separate value of the Classroom Segregation Index is calculated for each school. The values can range from 0 for complete (random) desegregation of the classrooms, to 100 for total classroom separation of the available blacks and whites in the school.[2] In our analyses, we compare the average Classroom Segregation Index for different groups of schools.

Three interpretations of the Index are useful in making comparisons. First, the Index measures the degree of departure from a random classroom allocation of the available blacks and whites in the school. This interpretation can be seen in the formula components, when it is recognized that the component "Percent White in the School" is the <u>expected</u> value of

[2] An equivalent calculation, replacing "white" with "black" in the formula, will give exactly the same value when blacks and whites constitute the only racial/ethnic groups in the school. The alternative calculations will give somewhat different values when there are additional groups in a school. In this paper, an average of the two calculations is used, to reconcile the different values in multi-ethnic situations. Segregation between different pairs of ethnic groups can be calculated from the formula using appropriate terms in the formula for the groups under study.

"Percent White in the Classroom of the Average Black Student" when students are randomly assigned to classrooms. Second, it can be shown that the calculated value of the Index is also equal to the difference between "Percent White in the Classroom of the Average Black Student" and "Percent Black in the Classroom of the Average White Student." In other words, it is equal to the average difference in classroom exposure to students of the opposite race by blacks and whites. Third, it can be shown that the Index is equal to the proportion of variance explained by classroom identification in a multiple regression of individual's race (coded as a dummy variable) and the individual's classroom identification (coded as n-1 dummy variables, where n equals the number of classrooms in the school). In other words, it gives the between-classroom proportion of variance in students' race. (See Becker, 1978.)

Classroom and School Segregation Comparisons by Educational Level and Region

Table 1 presents the Classroom Segregation Index and its components for elementary schools, middle or junior high schools, and high schools,[3] for the 1976 OCR national sample of schools enrolling both black and white students.[4] The schools averaged about 66 percent white enroll-

[3] Elementary schools are those having at least grades 1 and 5 but not grade 12; middle or junior high schools are those having grades 6, 7, 8, or 9 but not grades 1 or 12; and high schools are those having at least grade 12 but not grade 1.

[4] Of the 43,738 schools that submitted school reports in OCR selected districts, 31,280 enrolled both black and white students (21,225 elementary, 5,035 middle or junior high, and 5,020 high schools). The others were either entirely segregated, included other ethnic groups but had either no whites or no blacks, or did not include the grade spans used to define elementary, middle or junior, and high schools. An additional 4,771 schools are gained when schools enrolling both whites and any other surveyed minority (American Indian, black, Asian-American and Hispanic) are considered. See Table 5 and accompanying discussion in this paper for further details.

ments (66.09 elementary, 66.91 middle, 66.04 high), which is the expected classroom percent white for the average black student in these schools if blacks and whites were randomly assigned to classes. However, Table 1 shows that across the nation, the actual percent white in the classroom for the average black student was somewhat smaller. These differences between expected and actual percentages varied by educational level, yielding Classroom Segregation Indices that show more classroom segregation in middle than elementary schools, and more classroom segregation in high schools than middle schools.

When the values are compared to published indices that measure segregation of schools within districts (Coleman, et al., 1975; U.S. Commission of Civil Rights, 1979), we notice two things: the national classroom classroom segregation indices are considerably smaller than the national school segregation indices, and the trends across educational levels are in opposite directions for classroom segregation and school segregation. Using a comparable index of segregation, the segregation of schools within districts across the nation was reported to be .30 for elementary and secondary schools combined in 1976 (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1979, Table 1), and was reported to be .45 for elementary schools in 1972 and .27 for secondary schools in 1972 (Coleman et al., 1975, Table 9). These within-district school segregation indices are many times larger than the within-school classroom segregation indices. Thus, it appears that the more important forces in our nation inhibiting desegregated education continue to be those that create racially separate school assignments.

Although classroom resegregation appears secondary in importance to school segregation, the problems of classroom resegregation are most serious

in secondary (middle, junior and high) schools, which have been generally more successful than elementary schools in enrolling racially mixed student bodies. In other words, the secondary levels are more likely to achieve school desegregation but are also more likely to have classroom resegregation.

Classroom Segregation Comparisons by Racial/Ethnic Group

Up to this point we have examined the classroom resegregation of blacks and whites in schools that enroll both groups. Table 2 presents national average classroom segregation indices for other combinations of racial/ethnic groups.

Separate values are shown for the classroom segregation of whites and all minorities, whites and Hispanics, blacks and Hispanics, and blacks and whites. In each case, calculations of within-school classroom segregation were based on the subsample of schools that enrolled both relevant groups.

Comparing the three columns on the right of Table 2, we see a consistent ordering of classroom segregation for each educational level. Most classroom resegregation occurs for black and white students. Somewhat less classroom segregation is found for whites and Hispanics in elementary and middle schools, and considerably less for these groups in high schools. And there is virtually no classroom resegregation among blacks and Hispanics in schools that enroll both these groups.

Regional Comparisons

Although the degree of within-school classroom segregation was shown to be less on the average than within-district school segregation, there is considerable variation in classroom resegregation across different regions of the country and different school enrollments. Table 3 and

Figure 1 display average classroom segregation indices for regions and educational levels.

These data show the same trend in each region--increasing classroom segregation with higher educational levels. They also indicate a consistent ranking of regions in each educational level. The South always has the most classroom segregation, the West the least, with the Northeast and Midwest in between.[5] Comparing these regional classroom segregation values to published indices of within-district school segregation, we again see a tendency for the groups with least school segregation to have most classroom resegregation. In 1976, the Southeast and Border states (which include the Southern states that we find to have the greatest black-white classroom resegregation) were estimated to have the lowest black-white school segregation indices (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1979, Table 1).

Classroom Segregation Comparisons By School Racial Composition

Figure 2 and Table 4 show how average classroom segregation varies by percent white of school enrollment. The pattern of the relationship is curvilinear: most classroom segregation occurs in schools whose racial enrollments are in the middle ranges of percent white. There is more classroom segregation for schools in the 40-60 percent intervals of white enrollment schoolwide, with a distinct dropoff in classroom segregation below 40 percent or above 70 percent white. (The very low classroom segregation index values for classes below 10 percent white probably represent the constraint of too few whites to make possible segregated classes when the average class size is maintained.)

[5] The non-contiguous states of Alaska and Hawaii are not considered in this discussion, because they are in many ways special cases in terms of black-white desegregation.

A more complete sense of the patterning of classroom assignments within different desegregated schools can be obtained by examining frequency distributions in addition to the mean tendencies we have been considering up to this point. Tables 5A-C present percentage distributions of classrooms across categories of classroom racial compositions for fixed categories of school racial composition.

An analysis of Table 5A for high schools shows the extent and direction to which actual distribution of classroom racial compositions departs from what would be expected from a random racial assignment to classrooms. Initially, the strong association between classroom racial composition and school racial composition is evident in this table. It is obvious from these tabulations that a students' chances of being assigned to a classroom where his or her own race is in the minority is strongly dependent upon the racial composition of the school attended. For example, black students in majority white desegregated schools are many times more likely to be in majority white classes than their counterparts in majority black desegregated schools. Nevertheless, the school racial composition does not determine the racial distribution of classrooms in the way that would be expected if classroom assignments randomly reflected the availability of black and white students in a school. Classroom racial distributions depart from random expectations within desegregated schools in several ways.

First, we notice that racially isolated classrooms exist even in schools where such classrooms are most improbable. Majority white schools are particularly important for studies of classroom resegregation, because schools with more than 50 percent white enrollment represent nearly three-quarters of all desegregated schools in the nation and they enroll about

half of all black students who attend desegregated schools.[6] From Table 5A, we see that predominantly black classrooms (0-9 percent white) appear in majority white schools: about five percent of the classrooms are predominantly black in schools that have between 60 and 89 percent white enrollment. At the same time, these same desegregated schools with majority white enrollments have a significant percent of entirely white classes: 3.26 percent in schools that are 60-69 percent white, 5.68 percent in schools that are 70-79 percent white, and 11.96 percent in schools that are 80-89 percent white.

Second, we see that majority black classrooms are found in majority white schools, and majority white classrooms are found in majority black schools at a much greater rate than would be expected by chance. The bottom panel of Table 5A summarizes the cumulative percent of classrooms that are majority black or majority white, together with the expected percent of such classrooms under a random racial allocation of students.[7] For example, 22.10 percent of classrooms are majority black in schools that are 60-69 percent white, even though only 6.43 percent would be expected by chance. In schools that are 70-79 percent white, the observed and expected percents of majority black classrooms are 12.85 and 0.20.

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[6] Among the desegregated high schools, 73.99 percent are 50-99 percent white, and 40.27 percent are 80-99 percent white. Of all black students attending desegregated high schools, 43.7 percent are in 50-99 percent white schools, and this figure becomes 53.98 percent if we consider only black students in desegregated high schools that enroll at least 10 percent white students.

[7] The expected percentages are based on the normal approximation to the binomial distribution, assuming random classes of size 25 are drawn from a population having the school percent white P (mid-point of the tabulated school interval). The estimate is obtained by entering the table of cumulative normal distribution with the value $u/n - p/\sqrt{pq/25}$, where p = school percent white, and u/n is the sample value of interest.

There are similar discrepancies for majority white classes in majority black schools: for example, 21.92 percent majority white classes are observed and 6.43 are expected in schools that are 30-39 percent white, while 8.75 percent are observed and 6.43 are expected in schools that are 20-29 percent white.

Third, the bottom panel of Table 5A also indicates the general shape of the classroom distributions compared to a distribution that would be produced by a random racial allocation to classrooms. A comparison is made of observed and expected percentages in the modal ten percent category, and above or below this category. A random allocation of students to classrooms would produce a distribution with about 40 percent or more of the classrooms in the modal ten percent interval around the school mean percent white, and with a very small percentage of classrooms with racial compositions that depart by more than 20 percent from the school mean. Table 5A shows that the observed classroom distributions are much more spread out from the modal category than would be expected by chance. For example, in schools that are between 20 and 80 percent white, only 25 percent or less of the classrooms are in the modal category, although about 40 percent would be expected in this category if there were random classroom allocation of blacks and whites. On the other hand, the observed percentages of classrooms outside the modal category is much more than expected. For example, the observed percentage of classrooms below the modal category is from 7.7 to 18.8 percent greater than the expected percentage, while the observed percentage above the modal category is 4.8 to 11.7 percent greater than expected.

Tables 5B and 5C show the distribution of classrooms in junior high or middle schools and in elementary schools. Although we have seen that

the departures from random classroom distributions are somewhat less at these educational levels, the distributional patterns are similar to those in Table 5A for high schools.

Summary and Discussion

The following conclusions appear justified on the basis of the comparisons of segregation indices and tabulations:

(1) Racially segregated education in this nation is due primarily to segregated schools, and secondarily due to segregated classes within desegregated schools. This conclusion is based on the much larger segregation indices for schools than classrooms, and on the strong association between school and classroom racial distributions. In other words, the problem of arranging for desegregated school assignments within districts and metropolitan areas remains by far the greatest impediment to racially mixed education. Solving problems of resegregated classrooms would not make as much overall difference as would significantly increasing the number of desegregated schools, even though some classroom resegregation would be expected to occur.

(2) Nevertheless, classroom resegregation does occur in the typical desegregated school, creating some classroom situations of racial isolation or severe racial imbalance that do not reflect the student body enrollments of the school at large. The majority-white desegregated schools--which comprise about three-quarters of all desegregated schools and enroll about one-half of all black students attending desegregated schools--seem especially prone to extreme classroom resegregation. For example at the high school level, predominantly black and entirely white classes are found in majority white schools at several times the rate that would be expected by chance.

(3) Classroom resegregation occurs more in localities and educational levels where school desegregation has progressed most. We find more classroom resegregation in the South and at the secondary school levels, where school desegregation has been reported to be better accomplished than in other regions or levels. In other words, when black students find a greater chance of school desegregation they are also likely to find a somewhat greater chance of classroom resegregation.

This implies that, as school desegregation progresses in this country, the problem of classroom resegregation will become proportionately more acute. Thus school desegregation remains as today's major problem, but resolving this problem will bring classroom resegregation to the forefront as the next problem. To solve both problems, school desegregation plans should include components that address both issues.

One possible explanation for the differences across educational levels in school and classroom segregation concerns racial differences in socioeconomic background or current academic achievement in the student bodies of elementary, junior high, and high schools. Elementary schools are smaller and often draw from neighborhoods more similar in socioeconomic status, compared to junior high schools and especially senior high schools. Thus when classrooms and track assignments are made on the basis of students' current academic achievements, more racial separation might be expected in the larger, more heterogeneous secondary schools, due to average black-white differences in current academic performance. The practical implication of this speculation is that instructional methods to motivate and teach academically heterogeneous student bodies without separating the students into rigid tracks and academically homogeneous classrooms are especially needed in desegregated secondary schools.

This need appears to be especially acute in the more racially balanced schools (30-70 percent white) where there is most classroom resegregation.

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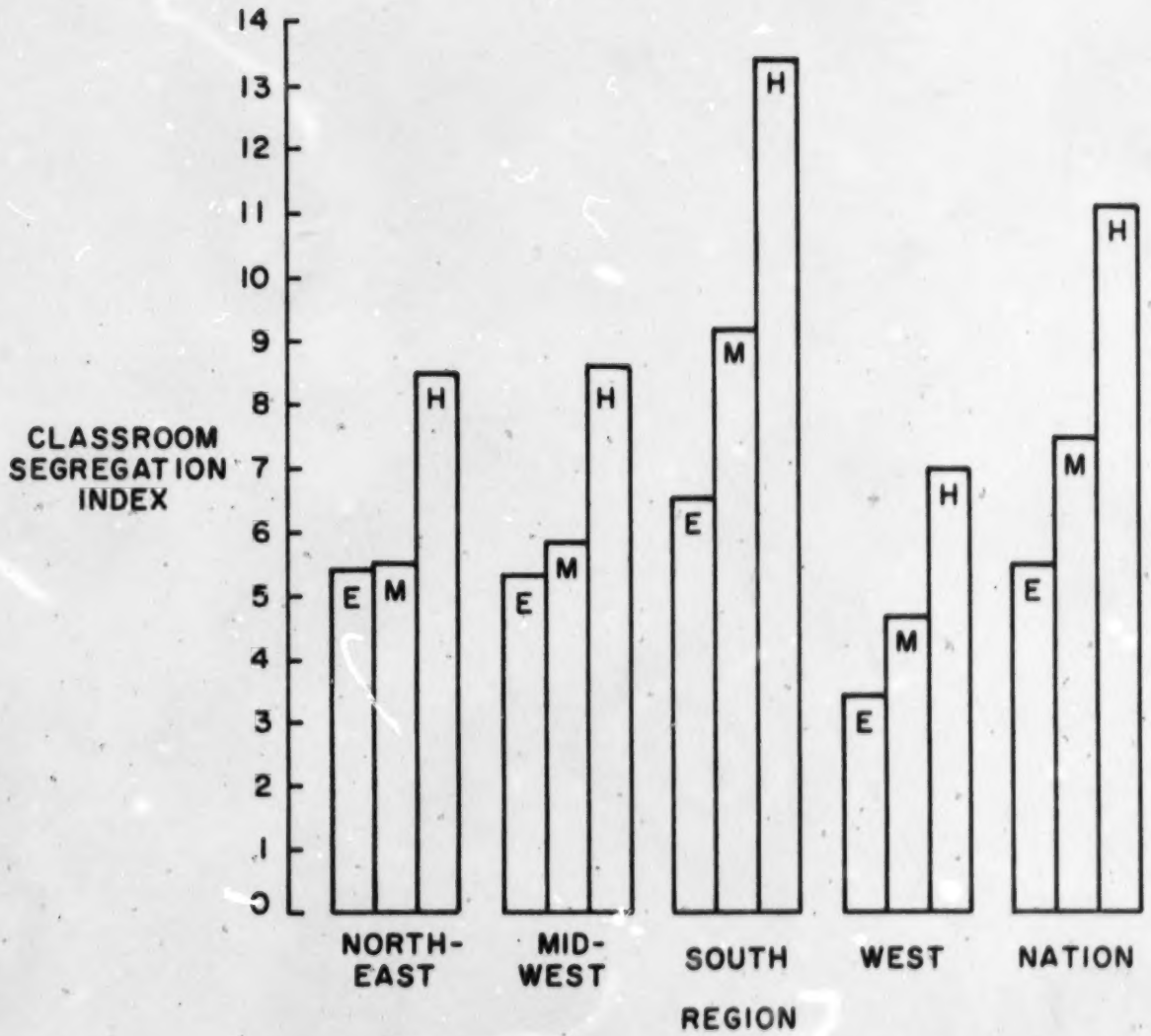
FIGURE 1
REGIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL COMPARISONS
OF CLASSROOM SEGREGATION, 1976



E - Elementary Schools.
M - Middle or Junior High Schools
H - High Schools

Figure 2

Average Classroom Segregation Indices by Educational Level and Percent White of School Enrollment, 1976

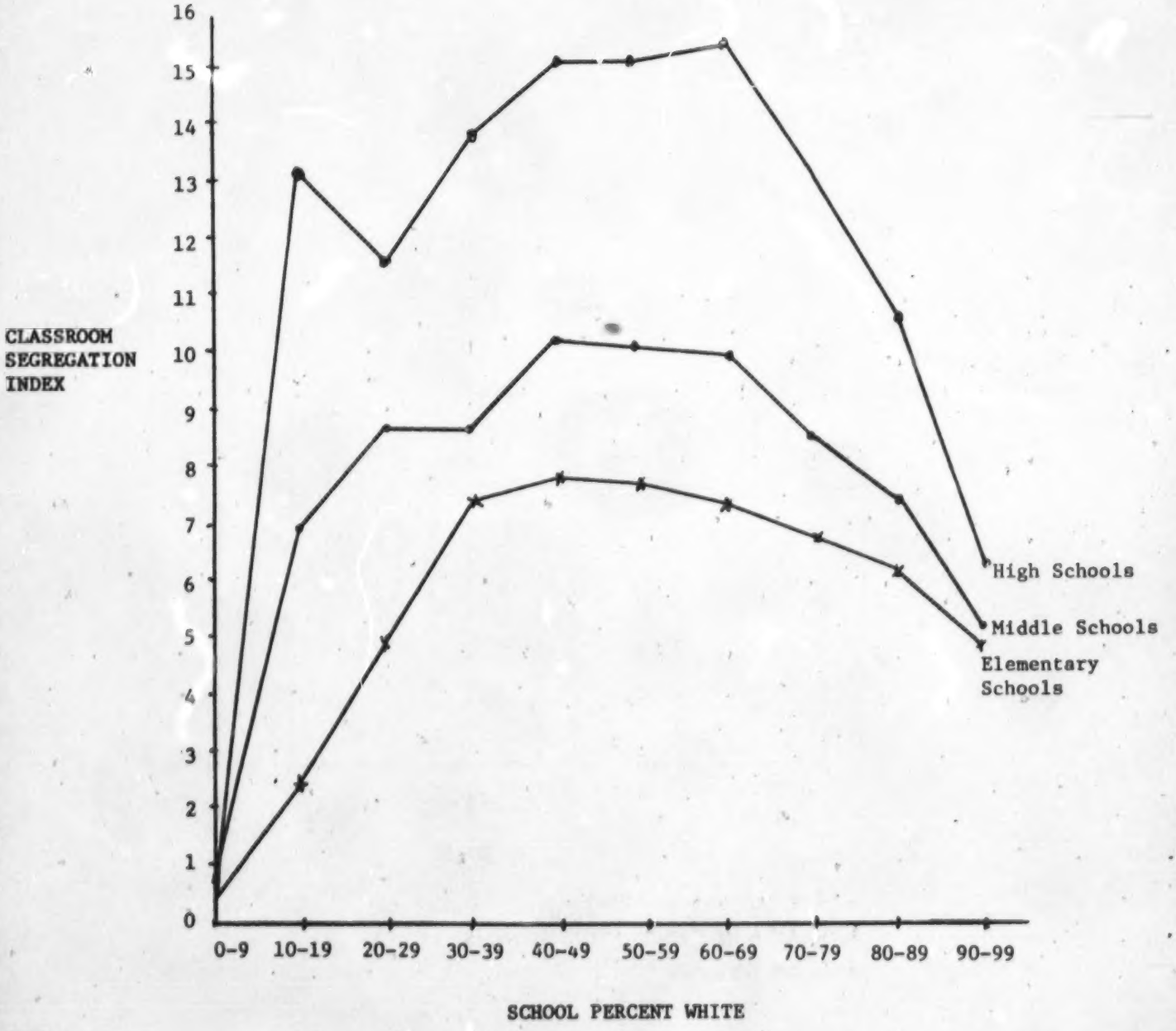


TABLE 1

COMPONENTS OF CLASSROOM SEGREGATION INDEX,

BY SCHOOL LEVEL; NATION 1976

School Level	Average Percent White in School	Percent White in the Classroom of the Average Black Student	Segregation Index
Elementary	.6609	.6214	.0561
Middle	.6691	.6195	.0774
High	.6604	.5898	.1117

$$\text{Segregation Index} = \frac{\text{Average Percent White in School} - \text{Percent White in the Classroom of the Average Black Student}}{\text{Average Percent White in School}}$$

TABLE 2

CLASSROOM SEGREGATION INDICES OF DIFFERENT PAIRS OF RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUPS, BY EDUCATION LEVEL

(Number of schools shown in parentheses)

	Whites and All Minorities	Whites and Hispanics	Blacks and Hispanics	Blacks and Whites
Elementary	.0645 (24,619)	.0468 (14,742)	.0064 (12,449)	.0561 (21,225)
Middle	.0774 (5,683)	.0500 (3,554)	.0159 (3,087)	.0744 (5,035)
High	.1081 (5,749)	.0603 (3,206)	.0007 (2,706)	.1117 (5,020)

TABLE 3

CLASSROOM SEGREGATION INDICES

BY REGION AND SCHOOL LEVEL; 1976

(Number of schools shown in parentheses)

	Region[1]					
	NE	MW	S	W	Non-C	Nation
Elementary	.0541 (2258)	.0535 (4238)	.0677 (10620)	.0342 (3914)	.0000 (195)	.0561 (21,225)
Middle	.0548 (551)	.0585 (879)	.0924 (2696)	.0472 (875)	.0752 (34)	.0744 (5,035)
High	.0850 (531)	.0858 (686)	.1344 (2999)	.0703 (765)	.0006 (39)	.1117 (5,020)

[1] NE (Northeast) = CT, ME, MA, NH, NJ, NY, PA, RI, VT

MW (Midwest) = ID, IL, IN, IA, KS, MI, MI, MN, MO, NE, MD, OH, SD, WI

S (South = AL, AR, DE, DC, FL, GA, KY, LA, MD, MS, NC, OK, SC, TN, TX, VA, WV

W (West) = AZ, CA, CO, MT, NV, NM, OR, UT, WA, WY

Non-C (Non-Contigious) = AK, HI

TABLE 4

CLASSROOM SEGREGATION INDICES BY SCHOOL RACIAL COMPOSITION, FOR ELEMENTARY, MIDDLE AND HIGH SCHOOLS; 1976

(Number of schools shown in parentheses)

School Level	Percent White of School Enrollment										
	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-99	Total
Elementary	.0019	.0239	.0493	.0736	.0781	.0762	.0740	.0679	.0608	.0494	.0561
	(1766)	(752)	(305)	(1007)	(1307)	(1657)	(2076)	(2699)	(3314)	(5824)	(21,225)
Middle	.0063	.0696	.0867	.0855	.1031	.1030	.1005	.0850	.0738	.0512	.0744
	(200)	(159)	(176)	(256)	(360)	(463)	(596)	(667)	(776)	(1283)	(5,035)
High	.0571	.1323	.1159	.1386	.1504	.1503	.1539	.1321	.1063	.0625	.1117
	(324)	(175)	(175)	(253)	(378)	(443)	(563)	(687)	(836)	(1186)	(5,020)

Table 5A

DISTRIBUTION OF HIGH SCHOOL CLASSROOMS BY RACIAL COMPOSITION, FOR CATEGORIES OF SCHOOL PERCENT WHITE ENROLLMENT

(Number of classrooms shown in parentheses)

Percent White of Classroom	Percent White School Enrollment									
	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-99
0-9	88.01	43.02	21.08	11.40	7.52	6.87	4.69	5.69	5.40	1.79
10-19	9.50	30.92	21.43	13.44	7.24	3.22	1.97	0.74	0.28	0.01
20-29	1.56	14.63	25.21	17.59	10.70	5.76	2.97	1.15	0.28	0.02
30-39	0.51	6.82	16.51	21.76	16.62	9.97	5.28	2.17	0.64	0.06
40-49	0.10	1.40	6.98	13.90	17.30	12.74	7.19	3.10	0.68	0.05
50-59	0.10	1.78	5.14	12.12	19.68	23.71	18.09	9.10	2.94	0.31
60-69	0.08	0.70	1.78	4.94	9.85	15.92	19.39	15.27	6.01	0.60
70-79	0.02	0.22	1.08	2.24	5.64	11.24	18.69	24.45	16.69	2.61
80-89	0.05	0.19	0.28	1.58	3.29	6.42	13.15	22.35	31.25	11.89
90-99	0.02	0.10	0.22	0.40	0.92	2.44	5.16	10.29	23.96	35.47
100	0.03	0.19	0.25	0.64	1.22	1.70	3.26	5.68	11.96	47.18
	(5832)	(3150)	(3150)	(4554)	(6804)	(7974)	(10,134)	(12,366)	(15,048)	(21,348)

Summary of Observed (O) and Expected (E) Percentages

Percent Majority Black	O					38.56	22.10	12.85	7.20	1.93
	E					30.85	6.43	0.20	0	0
Percent Majority White	O	0.30	3.18	8.75	21.92	40.60				
	E	0	0	0.20	6.43	30.85				
Modal Ten-Percent Categ.	O	88.01	30.92	25.21	21.76	17.30	23.71	19.39	24.45	31.25	82.65
	E	88.00	51.60	43.80	39.70	38.30	38.30	39.70	43.80	51.60	88.00
Below Modal	O		43.02	42.51	42.43	42.08	38.56	40.19	37.22	32.94	
	E		24.20	28.10	30.15	30.95	30.85	30.15	28.10	24.20	
Above Modal	O		26.03	32.24	35.82	40.60	37.72	40.26	38.32	35.92	
	E		21.20	28.10	30.15	30.85	30.85	30.15	28.10	24.20	

Table 5B

DISTRIBUTION OF MIDDLE SCHOOL CLASSROOMS BY RACIAL COMPOSITION, FOR CATEGORIES OF SCHOOL PERCENT WHITE ENROLLMENT

(Number of classrooms shown in parentheses)

Percent White of Classroom	Percent White School Enrollment									
	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-99
0-9	89.26	39.38	15.66	8.46	6.50	5.21	5.90	6.51	4.47	1.77
10-19	8.81	36.20	24.94	11.13	5.14	2.84	1.29	0.50	0.15	0.01
20-29	1.21	16.32	29.07	21.22	9.68	4.15	2.01	0.70	0.21	0.02
30-39	0.60	5.28	18.18	28.17	19.15	10.04	4.47	1.77	0.42	0.04
40-49	0.00	1.43	6.50	15.47	22.79	14.35	6.20	1.93	0.38	0.05
50-59	0.07	0.78	3.69	9.94	21.74	28.77	20.42	7.86	2.46	0.20
60-69	0.06	0.24	0.92	2.97	8.12	18.93	25.17	16.27	5.32	0.44
70-79	0.00	0.17	0.60	1.54	4.32	9.88	21.03	32.48	17.12	1.93
80-89	0.00	0.07	0.28	0.67	1.71	4.14	9.55	22.79	38.03	11.87
90-99	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.11	0.35	1.02	2.92	7.19	25.07	41.44
100	0.02	0.14	0.13	0.30	0.49	0.46	1.05	2.02	6.39	42.24
N	(5382)	(2862)	(3168)	(4608)	(6480)	(8334)	(10,728)	(12,006)	(13,960)	(23,094)

Summary of Observed (O) and Expected (E) Percentages

Percent Majority Black	O					36.59	19.87	11.41	5.63	1.89
	E					30.85	6.43	0.20	0	0
Percent Majority White	O	0.13	1.26	5.52	15.23	36.25				
	E	0	0	0.20	6.43	30.85				
Modal Ten-Percent Categ.	O	89.26	36.20	29.07	28.17	22.79	28.77	25.17	32.48	38.03	41.44
	E	88.00	51.60	43.80	39.70	38.30	38.30	39.70	43.80	51.60	88.00
Below Modal	O	0.00	39.38	40.60	40.81	40.47	36.59	40.29	35.54	30.53	58.56
	E	7.08	24.20	28.10	30.15	30.85	30.85	30.15	28.10	24.10	7.08
Above Modal	O	10.77	24.43	30.33	31.00	36.73	34.63	34.55	29.98	25.07	0.00
	E	7.08	24.20	28.10	30.15	30.85	30.85	30.15	28.10	24.20	7.08

Table 5C

DISTRIBUTION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CLASSROOMS BY RACIAL COMPOSITION, FOR CATEGORIES OF SCHOOL PERCENT WHITE ENROLLMENT

(Numbyr of classrooms shown in parentheses)

Percent White of Classroom	Percent White School Enrollment									
	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-99
0-9	90.00	36.62	14.19	9.32	5.46	3.24	5.06	5.18	4.08	1.52
10-19	7.91	38.40	24.50	8.82	3.67	1.78	0.92	0.30	0.08	0.01
20-29	1.16	17.21	31.78	19.76	7.98	3.31	1.36	0.55	0.16	0.03
30-39	0.50	4.93	18.76	30.67	20.12	8.06	2.99	1.17	0.37	0.03
40-49	0.13	1.21	5.52	16.57	25.34	15.18	5.02	1.34	0.32	0.03
50-59	0.17	0.91	3.53	10.06	24.89	34.32	20.90	6.90	1.70	0.22
60-69	0.04	0.28	0.84	2.66	7.38	19.95	31.16	17.74	3.94	0.35
70-79	0.03	0.15	0.43	1.24	2.92	7.97	22.22	37.02	18.16	1.50
80-89	0.02	0.10	0.23	0.45	1.22	2.74	7.42	22.56	42.68	11.77
90-99	0.00	0.01	0.06	0.09	0.45	0.75	1.55	4.92	22.35	42.62
100	0.05	0.17	0.16	0.37	0.57	0.71	1.40	2.32	6.16	41.93
N	(31,788)	(13,536)	(14,490)	(18,126)	(23,526)	(29,826)	(37,368)	(48,582)	(59,652)	(105,156)

Summary of Observed (O) and Expected (E) Percentages

Percent Majority Black	O					33.57	75.35	8.54	5.01	1.62
	E					30.85	6.43	0.20	0	0
Percent Majority White	O	0.26	1.46	5.09	14.50	36.86				
	E	0	0	0.20	6.43	30.85				
Modal Ten-Percent Categ.	O	90.00	38.40	31.78	30.67	25.34	34.32	31.16	37.02	42.68	42.62
	E	88.00	51.60	43.80	39.70	38.30	38.30	39.70	43.80	51.60	88.00
Below Modal	O	0.00	36.62	38.69	37.90	37.23	33.57	36.25	33.18	28.81	15.46
	E	7.08	24.20	28.10	30.15	30.85	30.85	30.15	28.10	24.20	7.08
Above Modal	O	7.96	24.81	29.37	31.44	36.86	31.41	31.19	27.48	22.35	0.00
	E	7.08	24.20	28.10	30.15	30.85	30.85	30.15	28.10	24.20	7.08